

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 ERDA-05 H-02 INR-07 IO-13 L-03 OIC-02

OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15

TRSE-00 NSC-05 /086 W  
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O R 240853Z SEP 76  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5828  
INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USNMR SHAPE  
USCINCEUR  
SECDEF

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 15175

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: MBFR PARM NATO UK GW BE FR  
SUBJECT: MBFR TRILATERAL SEPTEMBER 23: FRENCH PROBLEM

REF: USNATO 5142

1. THIS MESSAGE REPORTS DISCUSSION AT LONDON MBFR  
TRILATERAL SEPTEMBER 23 AND AD REF PLAN OF STEPS TO TAKE  
VIS-A-VIS BELGIANS AND FRENCH ON DATA PROBLEM. DETAILED  
REPORT INCLUDING OTHER ITEMS FROM TRILATERAL REPORTED  
SEPTTEL.

2. TWO DEVELOPMENTS AT OUTSET SHAPED TRILATERAL CON-  
SIDERATION OF FRENCH PROBLEM: (A) THE BELGIAN REPORT  
OF THE FRENCH RESPONSE TO THEIR SEPT 15 PROPOSAL  
(USNATO 5142). UK BELIEVED BELGIAN INITIATIVE AND  
FRENCH RESPONSE OPENED WAY FOR TACTICALLY GETTING

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AROUND THE FRENCH PROBLEM. (BRITISH VIEW WAS INFLUENCED

BY FACT THAT THEIR REPORT OF CONVERSATION WITH WILLOT CONTAINED AN ADDITIONAL ELEMENT NOT IN USNATO REPORT. WILLOT SAID HE TOLD FRENCH THAT BELGIANS CONSIDERED, IF AHG WERE QUESTIONED ABOUT COMMON CEILING, THEY COULD ONLY REPLY ON BASIS OF EXISTING GUIDANCE IMPLYING COVERAGE OF FRENCH FORCES IN CEILING. AS FRENCH REPLY WAS SILENT ON THIS POINT, BELGIANS BELIEVE FRENCH WILL NOT OBJECT TO A RESTATEMENT OF COMMON CEILING PRINCIPLE IN VIENNA, ACCORDING TO WILLOT AS REPORTED BY BRITISH.) THE GERMANS WERE MOST UNENTHUSIASTIC. THEY ARGUED APPROACH ALONG BELGIAN LINES TENDED TO UNDERMINE COMMON CEILING AND COLLECTIVE NATURE OF ALLIED APPROACH TO MBFR. (B) THE GERMANS (ROTH) MADE CLEAR THAT THEY WERE NOT DISPOSED TO MAKE A HIGH-LEVEL APPROACH TO THE FRENCH UNTIL NEXT SPRING AT THE EARLIEST, AND WOULD PREFER TO DELAY TABLING DATA UNTIL THEN IF NECESSARY. THEY WERE MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN WE OR UK THAT DEFINITIONS DATA DISCUSSION COULD PROCEED WITHOUT NEW WESTERN DATA ON THE TABLE.

3. AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TALKS, THE UK EXPRESSED A PREFERENCE FOR TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE BELGIAN REPORT TO "FINESSE" THE COMMON CEILING ISSUE AND BEGIN THE INITIAL STAGE OF A DATA DISCUSSION IN VIENNA WITHOUT RESOLVING COMMON CEILING ISSUES. THEY PROPOSED AHG GUIDANCE ALONG LINES OF USG DRAFT II. INITIAL FRG POSITION, ON OTHER HAND, WAS STRONGLY AGAINST TABLING DATA THAT DID NOT INCLUDE FRENCH FORCES. THEY PREFERRED TO GIVE FRENCH A PAPER ALONG THE LINES OF FRG PAPER PREPARED FOR TRILATERAL (STATE 223361) AND OUR DRAFT I. IN ORDER TO FIND SOLUTION US REPS SUGGESTED FORMULA FOR TABLING DRAFT GUIDANCE IN THE SPC THAT WOULD PROVIDE THE AD HOC GROUP UPDATED FIGURES (EXCLUDING FRENCH) ON FORCE LEVELS WITHOUT DEALING WITH THE OPERATION OF THE COMMON CEILING. /US REPS PROPOSED THAT WHEN EASTERN SIDE RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT OMISSION OF FRENCH AND HOW THE COMMON CEILING WOULD WORK, THE AHG IN VIENNA WOULD RESPOND ON THE BASIS OF NATIONAL INSTRUCTIONS BASED ON EXISTING SPC GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC GROUP. THIS WOULD BE ESSENTIALLY ARGUMENTATION

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OUTLINED IN PARAS C, D AND E OF U.S. DRAFT AHG GUIDANCE (DRAFT II).

4. TRILATERAL PARTIES DRAFTED TWO PAPERS AD REF TO REFLECT THE FOREGOING US PROPOSAL (TEXT OF PAPERS FOLLOW END OF MESSAGE):

(A) DRAFT GUIDANCE FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE SPC

(B) NATIONAL GUIDANCE TO WESTERN MBFR DELEGATIONS IN

AHG.

THIS WOULD BE MUTUALLY AGREED WITHOUT REFERENCE TO SPC.

5. FRG, ALTHOUGH CLEARLY NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THIS  
EFFORT AGREED TO TWO PAPERS AND US PLAN (PARA 3  
ABOVE). HOWEVER, FRG INSISTED THAT IF THIS APPROACH  
WAS TRIED INTRODUCTION OF DRAFT GUIDANCE INTO THE SPC  
MUST BE IN CONJUNCTION WITH AN AGREED ALLIED STATEMENT

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TRSE-00 NSC-05 /086 W

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O R 240853Z SEP 76

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5829

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

SECDEF

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TO THE FRENCH OF NATO'S LONG-TERM MBFR OBJECTIVES, MAKING  
CLEAR TO FRENCH FOR THE RECORD THAT DRAFT SPC GUIDANCE  
WAS NOT THE FINAL WORD ON EITHER THE COMMON CEILING OR ON  
EXCLUSION OF FRENCH FORCES FROM THE DATA. THIS PAPER,  
IN THE GERMAN VIEW, SHOULD BE BASED ON THEIR PROPOSED

DRAFT GUIDANCE AS MODIFIED BY USG (PAPER I) I.E. IT WOULD GIVE THE OVERALL GROUND FORCE TOTAL FOR THE WEST OF 791,000, AND STATE EXPLICITLY THAT WESTERN REDUCTIONS TO A COMMON CEILING OF 700,000 WOULD BE TAKEN FROM A TOTAL THAT INCLUDED THE FRENCH.

6. US/UK/FRG

REPRESENTATIVES DISCUSSED POSSIBILITY OF FOLLOWING PLAN:

A) SLOSS (REPRESENTATIVE USG) AND RUTH (FRG), BOTH OF  
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WHOM HAD PLANNED IN ANY CASE TO BE IN BRUSSELS NEXT WEEK' WOULD MEET WITH THE BELGIANS TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, AND ATTEMPT TO SECURE BELGIAN ACCEPTANCE OF TRIPARTITELY-AGREED ALTERNATIVE TO BELGIAN DRAFT GUIDANCE.

B) IF THE BELGIANS AGREED, CONCURRENCE OF THE OTHER ALLIES WOULD BE SOUGHT THROUGH BILATERAL CONTACTS IN BRUSSELS.

C) THE FRG WOULD GIVE US AND THE UK EARLY NEXT WEEK A DRAFT OF THEIR "STRATEGIC" PAPER (ALONG LINES OF US PAPER I) WHICH THEY PROPOSE BE GIVEN TO FRENCH AT AN EARLY DATE RESTATING LONG-TERM ALLIED OBJECTIVES.

7. IMPORTANT QUESTIONS ON TIMING AND PROCEDURE OF THE APPROACH TO THE FRENCH WERE NOT RESOLVED AT TRILATERAL SESSION. THE FRG EXPRESSED A STRONG PREFERENCE FOR SIMULTANEOUS PRESENTATION TO THE FRENCH, OR EVEN HANDING OVER THEIR "STRATEGIC" PAPER BEFORE SPC CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT GUIDANCE. (FRG ATTITUDE THROUGHOUT MEETING WAS OPPOSITION TO THE BELGIAN EFFORT, AND THEY WERE NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT TRILATERAL MODIFICATION OF BELGIAN FORMULA.)

8. COMMENTS: DELEGATION BELIEVES CAREFUL STUDY NEEDED OF DOCUMENTS RESULTING FROM MEETING, INCLUDING PAPER BEING PREPARED BY FRG WHICH WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE UNTIL NEXT WEEK. THIS PAPER WILL BE CRITICAL. ITS PRESENTATION TO FRENCH MAY SCARE THEM OFF APPROACH PROPOSED BY BELGIANS AND FURTHER DEVELOPED HERE. ON OTHER HAND, FRG CONSIDERS THIS PAPER ESSENTIAL AND FAILURE TO MAKE CLEAR TO FRENCH THAT WE INTEND TO STICK BY COMMON CEILING CONCEPT IN VIENNA COULD CAUSE US GREATER PROBLEMS LATER. IN VIEW OF THIS WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO SLOW DOWN APPROACH DESCRIBED IN PARA 6 AND LIMIT INITIAL APPROACH TO BELGIANS TO EFFORT TO DELAY SPC DISCUSSION AND CLARIFY EXCHANGE BETWEEN WILLOT AND GUELLUY IN LIGHT OF SOMEWHAT DIFFERING U.S. AND UK REPORTS.

9. ACTION REQUESTED:

(A) COMMENTS TO UK AND FRG ON DRAFT GUIDANCE (TEXT BELOW) WHICH WAS CONCURRED IN AD REFERENDUM AND (B)  
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AUTHORIZATION TO APPROACH BELGIANS WITH INITIAL OBJECTIVE OF PERSUADING THEM TO DEFER SPC DISCUSSION OF THEIR PAPER. IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF INSTRUCTIONS COULD REACH USNATO BRUSSELS IN TIME FOR SLOSS TO CONSULT RUTH MONDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 27, PRIOR TO HIS MEETING BELGIANS SEPTEMBER 28.

10. TEXT OF PROPOSED NAC GUIDANCE TO AHG. BEGIN TEXT:

DRAFT GUIDANCE FROM THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL  
TO THE AD HOC GROUP

THE AD HOC GROUP IS AUTHORISED TO USE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION AS APPROPRIATE:

(A) THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ACTIVE DUTY GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS ON 1 JANUARY 1976 AMOUNTED TO 731,000 MEN.

(B) THIS REPRESENTS AN INCREASE OF APPROXIMATELY 14,000 ACTIVE DUTY GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF THESE PARTICIPANTS SINCE THE NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN.

(C) THE COMBINED TOTAL OF ACTIVE DUTY GROUND AND AIR

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O R 240853Z SEP 76  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5830  
INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS  
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FORCE PERSONNEL OF THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS  
IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS ON 1 JANUARY 1976 WAS  
920,000.

(D) AS EASTERN PARTICIPANTS ARE AWARE, ONLY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ON THE NATO SIDE WILL UNDERTAKE OBLIGATIONS IN FUTURE MBFR AGREEMENTS. OTHER MEMBERS OF THE NATO ALLIANCE WITH FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS WILL NOT UNDERTAKE OBLIGATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH FUTURE REDUCTIONS AGREEMENTS.

(E) ACCORDING TO WESTERN ASSESSMENTS, ACTIVE DUTY GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS ON 1 JANUARY 1976 AMOUNTED TO 949,000 MEN.  
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(F) THIS REPRESENTS AN INCREASE OF APPROXIMATELY 24,000 ACTIVE DUTY GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL OF THESE PARTICIPANTS SINCE THE NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN.

(G) ACCORDING TO WESTERN ASSESSMENTS, THE COMBINED TOTAL OF ACTIVE DUTY GROUND AND AIR FORCE PERSONNEL OF THE EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS ON 1 JANUARY 1976 WAS 1,147,000.  
END TEXT.

11. TEXT OF NATIONAL GUIDANCE TO MBFR REPS IN

VIENNA. BEGIN TEXT:

NATIONAL INSTRUCTIONS TO PARTICIPATING DELEGATIONS

1. PREVIOUS GUIDANCE REMAINS UNCHANGED.

2. WITH REGARD TO REVISED DATA PRESENTED TO THE EAST,  
YOU MAY USE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

(A) IN THE EVENT OF A SATISFACTORY MBFR AGREEMENT  
ON THE BASIS PROPOSED BY THE WEST, THE WESTERN DIRECT  
PARTICIPANTS WOULD CONTINUE PREPARED, IN ORDER TO  
ESTABLISH THE COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING, TO MAKE REDUC-  
TIONS OF GROUND FORCE MANPOWER EQUAL TO THE DIFFERENCE  
BETWEEN TOTAL GROUND FORCE MANPOWER OF ALL WESTERN  
COUNTRIES WITH FORCES IN THE AREA AND THE LEVEL AGREED  
FOR THE COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING ON GROUND FORCE  
MANPOWER.

(B) WESTERN PARTICIPANTS CONTINUE TO REQUIRE AS THE  
OUTCOME OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS A COMBINED COMMON COLLEC-  
TIVE CEILING ON THE TOTAL GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER  
IN THE AREA AT APPROXIMATELY 900,000 MEN, AND A COMMON  
COLLECTIVE CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AT APPROXI-  
MATELY 700,000 MEN. IN THE EVENT OF A SATISFACTORY  
AGREEMENT, THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ARE PREPARED  
TO ADJUST THE COLLECTIVE LEVEL OF THEIR FORCES IN THE  
AREA OF REDUCTIONS IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE TOTAL NUMBER  
OF UNIFORMED ACTIVE DUTY WESTERN GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL  
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IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS WILL NOT EXCEED 700,000 MEN,  
OR WHATEVER SPECIFIC FIGURE MAY BE AGREED ON. WESTERN  
DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL  
COLLECTIVELY ENSURE THAT THESE COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILINGS  
WILL BE MAINTAINED.

(C) THE NUMBER OF ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY PERSONNEL OF  
WESTERN NON-PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS ON  
1 JANUARY 1976 REMAINED UNCHANGED AT APPROXIMATELY  
60,000 MEN.  
END TEXT

12. YOU WILL NOTE INCLUSION OF EASTERN FIGURES IN DRAFT  
GUIDANCE TO AHG (PARA 10 ABOVE). IN DISCUSSION OF  
TABLING OF RED AND BLUE DATA (REPORTED REFTTEL) FRG AND  
UK INSISTED GUIDANCE SHOULD INCLUDE EASTERN FIGURES  
BUT AGREED WITH US THAT TIMING OF ANY PRESENTATION OF  
RED NUMBERS TO BE DETERMINED IN AHG.

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## Message Attributes

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